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**THE HORN BOOK / Table of Contents**

**I. STUDIES IN EROTIC BIBLIOGRAPHY**
The Bibliography of Prohibited Books: Pisanus Fraxi
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Great Collectors of Erotica

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**III. PROBLEMS OF EROTIC FOLKLORE**
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Folk Literature and Folklore
With a Few Words on Science-Fiction
The Bawdy Song . . . In Fact and In Print
*The Limerick: A History in Brief*

Pornography as a style of literature and as a source of socio-ethnological study has at last come into its own in G. Legman's able study of erotic folklore and bibliography called THE HORN BOOK. . . . Literary and historical scholars will welcome his thorough chapters on Pisanus Fraxi, bibliographical problems of erotica and great collectors; Burns students will delight in the full telling of the rediscovery of his *Merry Muses of Caledonia*. At last Mr. Legman has a publisher who has encouraged the extension of this unusual scholar's work. — Lee Ash, AMERICAN NOTES & QUERIES

> Legman is a top authority in two unusual fields, erotic literature and erotic folklore. . . . Legman's *Horn Book* belongs in all institutional and private libraries where there is concern with the social sciences or the sciences of the human personality. — PSYCHIATRIC QUARTERLY

It is a tragic testament to our country's cultural neurosis that our most learned, respected, and brilliant specialist in erotic folklore must, of necessity, live and work in Europe in order to be free of the hysterical persecution the prospect of rational study of the arts inspired by sexual love seems to kindle in the American soul. The publishing establishment has, needless to say, been exceedingly leery of making Legman's work publicly available in the past: his earlier *Love and Death* was refused by every publisher in the business in 1949. . . . Thus, the appearance of *The Horn Book* is doubly welcome and eventful. — SING OUT, Folksong Magazine.

> The social psychologist will find the third section to be of most interest and utility, although the entire volume will repay study. . . . This book deserves widespread recognition for its attempt to point out a grievous fault in our society. — THE PSYCHOLOGICAL RECORD

Should be read carefully by all who agree that "it is absurd and unthinkable that fiction should concern itself with every other part of life but the part that everybody cares about most." . . . Mr. Legman feels that the literature and folklore of sex — most of which still cannot be printed, published, or distributed openly — are far more interesting, socially valuable, and historically important than the folklore (and televising) of murder, cruelty, torture, and treachery, and the literature of sadism — which are widely and profitably sanctioned and disseminated. — LIBRARY JOURNAL

> We do urge — beg! — all librarians — no matter how small their budget — to buy the book and to place it on the open shelves — not in any Inferno or Delta section! — ANTIQUARIAN BOOKMAN

# Love & Death & G. Legman

WHEN Legman's *The Horn Book* was published in 1963, we expected it would be widely reviewed, and most favorably. Any number of reviewers, at some point in the previous fourteen years, had found occasion to refer to Legman's first book, *Love & Death*, published in 1949. Almost at random, here is one of these references by one well-known critic: "The real corrupter of our youth is sadism, not sex, as that pioneer, G. Legman, argued in *Love & Death* in 1949." One could find scores if not hundreds of similar statements by reviewers in the decade and a half preceding the publication of *The Horn Book*.

*The Horn Book* did get some important reviews. The first was in *The Times Literary Supplement* (London). Legman's academic admirers reviewed him in the folklore journals. *Library Journal, Antiquarian Bookman*, knowledgeable and distinguished librarians like Lee Ash, the poet and critic Kenneth Rexroth broadcasting on the West Coast, these were reviews to do a man proud.

But the main body of reviewers was silent.

This is not a publisher's complaint about sales. *The Horn Book* is selling very well, thanks to the influence of those who did review Legman's book, and thanks to the fact that his 1949 book, *Love & Death*, has brought him a permanent following.

But Legman deserves to be reviewed by the main body of reviewers by their own criteria. Why, then, don't they review him?

I think they don't know how. *Love & Death* they belatedly praised (Legman himself published it) because it opened their eyes to the fact that the real corrupter of our youth is sadism, not sex.

But *The Horn Book* goes on to further implications of his profound insight. What does it mean to be against sadism and in favor of sex? That is, if you really mean it!

They have read Legman's new book eagerly and appreciatively — they even tell me about it! — but they don't review it because they don't know how. They don't know how much further they want to go beyond the Legman of the 1949 *Love & Death*. In a word, they want to wait and, no doubt, praise *The Horn Book* ten years from now.

Meanwhile, I want for Legman the public recognition he deserves. If I can't get it from the reviewers, I shall try to get it from the presently existing literate audience which can enjoy and profit from reading Legman. You can get your copy of Legman's *The Horn Book* by filling out the coupon below and mailing it promptly.

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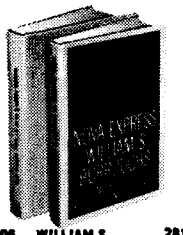

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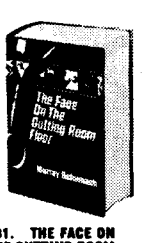


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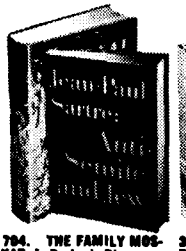


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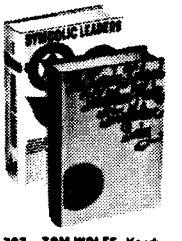


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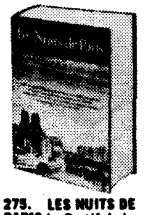

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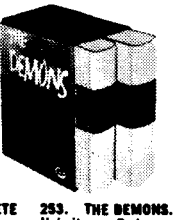


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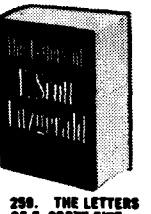


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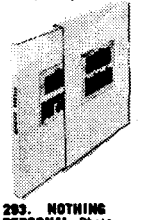

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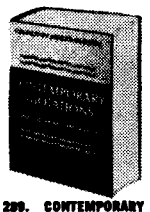

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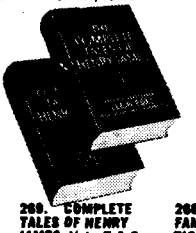

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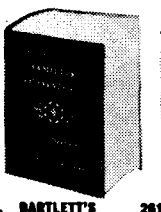

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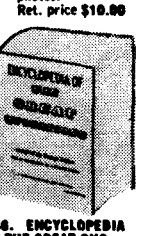


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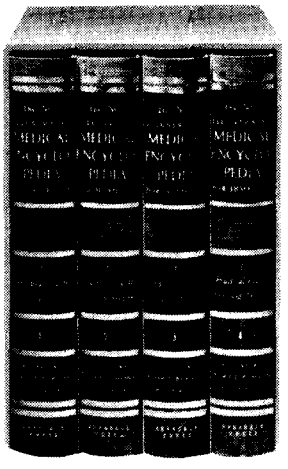

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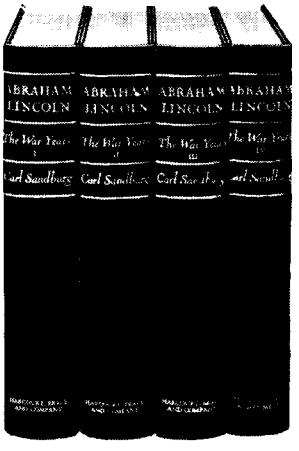

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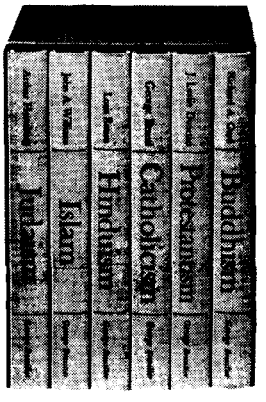

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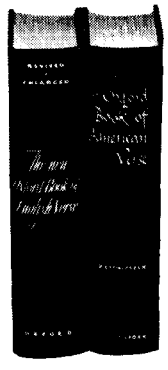

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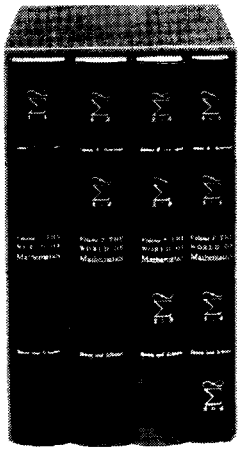

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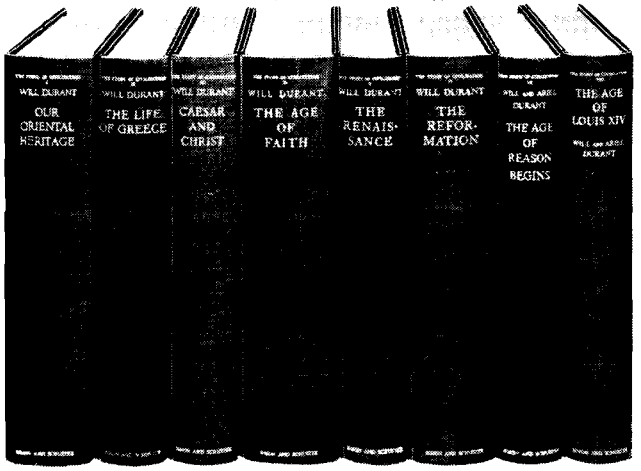


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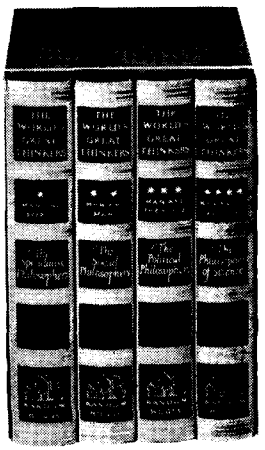

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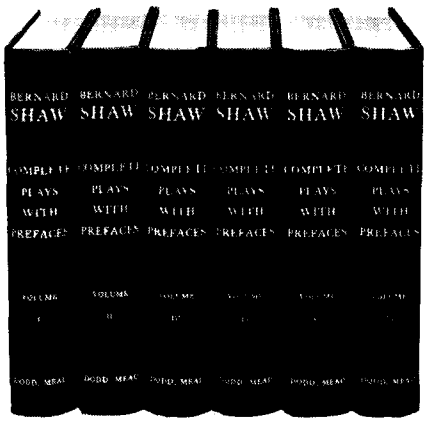


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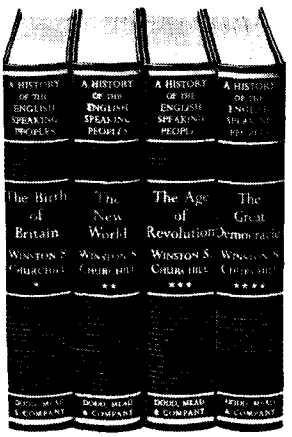


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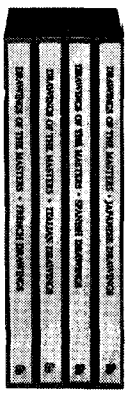

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# T.R.B. *from Washington*

*Good for Business*

★ We don't mean to be callous about it, of course. We don't, you understand, approve for a minute! But – well – there it is, you know. The South Vietnamese War is good for business. From the economic side it's a jolly little war.

These past few days have seen one war nearly ended in Santo Domingo (at least we hope so), and another far more serious clash begun, in Kashmir. And they have seen the Vietnamese war beginning to be recognized as a stimulant to the economy. It's a bit embarrassing, isn't it. But we can all feel that our stock dividends are a little higher because the war came just when it did.

The long boom, you see, seemed to be flagging a bit. There was talk of another shot-in-the-arm tax cut. Either that was needed, economists agreed, or more government spending to give consumers the money to take the abundance of goods off the market. Well, the tax cut stimulant won't be needed now. Government expenditure of $3 millions a day on Vietnam is just what the economic doctors ordered.

"America goes booming along," says the London *Economist*. "Now the stimulus is coming from the stepped-up government spending in Vietnam." With clinical detachment it notes that the main impact will not be felt "until the new year, just when it will be needed most."

We have no heart to be satirical about it. But let's not use make-believe, either. MIT's eminent economist Paul Samuelson wrote last week that many specialists had begun to see "ominous" signs in the fifth straight year of America's expansion. His own judgment, he said, had recently become much more optimistic.

"Why this change of view?" he wrote. "Escalation of our war in Vietnam is to me the new decisive factor. . . ." He pointed out that once military expenditure starts, it is apt to accelerate.

One of our favorite economic popularizers is Sylvia Porter, and last week she eulogized our current prosperity, too, "the longest in peacetime history." Well, that is something to ponder over. Is this "peacetime?" Out of a defense budget of $55 billions we are spending immediately in Vietnam about $3 million a day. It is just this added fillip that the economy seems to need.

For all we know, Paul Samuelson and Sylvia Porter would march in Stop-The-War demonstrations. They are just reciting facts. Vietnam is helping the economy. Limited strictly to Keynesian economics, it's a nice little war.

It's all in the point of view, isn't it? – even in the matter of war casualties. What a tragic business! Yet how calloused the American public normally is on the subject of sudden death. In this three-day Labor Day weekend more people have given their lives than in all the Vietnam combat since January 1, 1961. Is the public shocked? We can't see much sign of it.

*No. 1 Killer*

★ There is a certain gloating satisfaction, we think, in the radio-TV scorekeeping. Many of the regular announcers are on vacation themselves, and their substitutes have to find something to fill the dreary time while the rest of the world plays. The count begins on the Friday beforehand. They remind us that on the July 4th holiday the US hit a peak of 552 deaths. Will we break the record this fall? they wonder. Grisly? We are sorry if we are disturbing you (we seem to have got on gloomy subjects this week). But after all, there have been 1,402,225 traffic fatalities – not injuries but actual deaths – since 1922. For American young people between five and 24, auto mishaps are today the No. 1 killer.

The General Services Administration of the government buys 40,000 autos and light trucks a year. Starting in 1966, it will require 17 basic safety devices. The manufacturers will comply. But not one of them will provide all 17 devices as standard equipment on the cars that it sells to the general public. One of the GSA requirements, for example, will be a dual-brake system. General Motors puts dual brakes on 170,000 Cadillacs but not on 2,500,000 Chevrolets.

At recent hearings Senators Ribicoff and Robert Kennedy badgered representatives of the big Detroit firms for not doing more for safety. The executives took a superior or patronizing attitude. Even conservatives were shocked. "Auto Executives Hurt Own Cause" said a *Wall Street Journal* headline. Detroit sells horsepower, luxury, speed – not safety. GM Board chairman Frederic Donner (salary plus bonus last year $883,298) grandly announced the donation of $1 million over the next four years to MIT for a sudy of traffic-accident statistics. And the same industry spent $248 million in 1963 for advertising; $27 a car.

In 10 years the industry hasn't yet produced an impact-cushioning ("collapsible") steering wheel, Ribicoff noted. "We can put a satellite 'round Mars," he said, "yet we can't devise this safety feature."

Every form of passenger vehicle except autos must satisfy certain federal safety standards. The government investigates air accidents but makes no significant investigation of highway fatalities. There is no national policy on driver performance or insurance. You heard all about the highway deaths over Labor Day, but not much about this aspect of them.

★ *Notes:* We don't know how the steel crisis will turn out as this is written, but LBJ has strong-armed management and labor before White House TV lights, with the choice of being heroes or villains in a typical Johnson melodrama. . . . As the new immigration bill came from the House of Representatives, it would cut the UK quota one third and raise that of Trinidad-Tobago from 100 to infinity; no quota on Latin America, with the world's fastest population growth. . . . Westinghouse and GE got slapped $16,873,000 triple damages in a price-fixing decision last week, but the warm-hearted Internal Revenue Service has ruled that such fines are deductible on income taxes as a "business expense"; Senator Hart (D, Michigan) protests – if a burglar robs a bank can his fine be written off as an "expense?" he inquires.

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**THE NEW REPUBLIC** *A Journal of Opinion Volume 153 Number 11 Issue 2651 September 11, 1965*
*Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8; Foreign, $9; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43301. Copyright© 1965 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

# Fighting in Kashmir

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Our government has given India and Pakistan almost $10 billion to protect them against Communism. The most striking result has been to enable them despite their grave economic weakness to fight each other with full panoplies of expensive modern weapons, for possession of Kashmir. Pakistan has received $1.2 billion in military and $2.6 billion in economic aid. Last month, taking a leaf out of the Communist book, the Pakistanis sent into Muslim Kashmir some thousands of guerrillas to begin a "war of national liberation," and last week the Pakistanis were attacking with Patton tanks provided by the Americans. The Indians naturally fought back, and were enabled to do so all the more vigorously thanks to the $200 million of military aid and the $5.2 billion in economic aid which India has had from the US – of course with the idea of bolstering India against Communism, not against Pakistan.

This frustrating outcome is not an argument against helping others. It does, however, expose the simplistic folly of making anti-Communism the touchstone of foreign policy. The Pakistanis joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, aimed against China, solely to obtain American weapons to strengthen themselves vis-á-vis India. India has been getting US military aid since 1962, when she seemed threatened by China. But the US took that threat more seriously than did the Indians, who kept the bulk of their best troops in Kashmir, facing Pakistan.

Though economic assistance may be misused by a recipient country, the outcome of aid to Pakistan and India could have been different had our government confined itself to helping them build up their economies. A military buildup by either could have been reasonably interpreted as a signal that American assistance was no longer so urgent a necessity. But Washington has allowed itself to be so obsessed by "Communism" that it has seldom dared threaten to cut off either military or economic aid to any country which it fears may be taken over. Even now, Pakistan is expected to ask the US for another $300 million, at a meeting to be held on September 23 under World Bank auspices; and it is by no means certain that Pakistan will be refused. Both India and Pakistan have turned to Russia as well as to the US for weapons. The US has counted on Pakistan as a "bastion of the Free World" – that is to say, as a counter to Chinese influence in Asia. But Pakistan now enjoys cordial relations with China. Only a few years ago India did, too, and may try to mend her fences in order

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to minimize the risk of a conflict with China while fighting Pakistan.

The hot pursuit of real or fancied Communist threats around the world has given rise to quite another kind of threat – anti-Americanism. Last week, Singapore's anti-Communist Premier Lee Kuan Yew, haunted by ugly memories of the CIA, as are numerous Asian and African leaders, said if the British gave up their Singapore base he would like the Australians or New Zealanders to have it, but never the Americans. And he added, "If the Americans had been here, I'd have been in jail and tortured and died a 'Commie'." The US is currently arming and is pledged to defend 42 countries "threatened by Communism." In Latin America, the recipient of $775.1 million in military aid, that aid and that pledge often boils down to protecting ruling oligarchies from the anger of their own people. The war to contain Communism in Vietnam consumes even more American dollars and lives, and last week, South Vietnamese Premier Nguyen Cao Ky told James Reston of *The New York Times* that "the Communists are closer to the people's yearnings for social justice and an independent national life than my government." It is as if he had said the US has been heavily investing in bankruptcy. If the fighting between India and Pakistan doesn't shake our faith in a simple foreign policy of anti-Communism, perhaps Ky's frank admission will.

# "Never Jam Today"

Residents of the nation's capital, who did long ago enjoy the right of self-government but who, for many decades, have been ruled by a feudal and feckless District Committee of the House of Representatives, may get their freedom some day, but not right now. The President tried; so did his legislative aides; Democratic and Republican platforms favor Home Rule. But a discharge petition to force House consideration of a Home Rule bill just barely got the required 218 signatures. The bill in question, passed by the Senate, provides for an elected mayor, an elected city council and school board, and a nonvoting delegate to the House. There is a formula for assuring adequate federal payments to a self-governing District, commensurate with the federal government's large property holdings in the area. The President would be permitted to veto any city council ordinance he deems contrary to the federal interest. Congress would retain its power to take away rights it has thus conferred.

The citizens of the Dominican Republic, according to an agreement reached last week, may have elections nine months hence; even the Vietnamese should be permitted, says the Administration, to choose their own government. But for Washington the rule is "jam tomorrow and jam yesterday – but never jam today."

# Moynihan Report

In the Poverty jet set, the report of former Assistant Secretary of Labor Pat Moynihan (currently a Democratic candidate for the City Council President nomination in New York City) on the Negro family, published by the Department of Labor, is all the rage.

Moynihan's basic line is as follows: While the white family has achieved a high degree of stability and is maintaining it, by contrast the family structure of the lower-class Negro is highly unstable and in many urban centers is approaching a complete breakdown. The rise of the Negro middle class, which now accounts for perhaps half the Negro community, may have helped hide the deterioration of their less fortunate comrades. Nearly one quarter of Negro women who ever were married are now living apart from their husbands. One quarter of all Negro children are illegitimate; 14 percent are on welfare. A quarter of all Negro families are headed by women.

The roots of the family destruction are to be found in American slavery. Emancipation gave the Negroes liberty but not equality. The Negro male became a subject of intense hostility. It was the male who bore the humiliations of Jim Crow at the end of the 19th Century. "Unquestionably," says the report, "these events worked against the emergence of a strong father figure. The very essence of the male animal, from the bantam rooster to the four-star general, is to strut. Indeed, in 19th-Century America a particular type of exaggerated male boastfulness became the national style. Not for the Negro male. The 'sassy nigger' was lynched."

At emancipation, the women already were playing dominant roles in the Negro family. This role was strengthened as the Negroes left the rural areas and came to the cities where it was difficult for the men to get work. The 1930 census showed Negro unemployment outside the South at 11.5 percent. It is little changed since then, standing at about 9 percent, although as the report suggests this probably is a low estimate. Because so many Negro fathers either are unemployed or can't make enough to support their large families, the women go to work. (Fifty-six percent of Negro women, age 25-64, are in the work force, against 42 percent of white women.)

The extent of family breakdown is increased by the rapidly growing Negro population. In 1920, one in 10 people was Negro. Soon, one in eight Americans will be Negro.

Too many children too early make it hard for the parents to finish school. In February, 1963, 4.8 percent of white girls who dropped out of school did so because of marriage or pregnancy, as against 37.8 percent of non-white girls. Low education levels in turn produce low income levels – and low morale: "The unemploy-



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ment statistics for Negro teenagers – 29 percent in January 1965 – reflect lack of training and opportunity in the greatest measure, but it may not be doubted that they also reflect a certain failure of nerve. 'Are you looking for a job?' Secretary of Labor Wirtz asked a young man on a Harlem street corner. 'Why?' was the reply."

"In essence," the report says, "the Negro community has been forced into a matriarchal structure which, because it is so out of line with the rest of American society, seriously retards the progress of the group as a whole, and imposes a crushing burden on the Negro male, and in consequence on a great many Negro women as well."

The growth of the suburbs has meant that the Negroes have less to do now than ever before with the whites. (Mr. Moynihan lives in the North.) The residential housing pattern, most of it financially assisted by the federal government, and the schools, are more segregated now than at previous times.

It was not the purpose of the Moynihan report to propose solutions. Nonetheless, there are some rather broad hints in a section about Negro participation in the armed forces. Negroes don't serve in anything like their proportionate numbers because they can't pass the entrance requirements: Half of them fail the Armed Forces mental test. Negro participation in the armed forces has remained at about eight percent over the past decade, but Negroes are a bigger part of the population – 11.8 percent. If Negroes were represented in the armed forces by population, they would number 300,000 plus. This would be 100,000 more than at present. If this 100,000 came from the unemployed, the Negro unemployment rate would be reduced from 9.1 percent to about 7 percent. Any substantial reduction in this figure would require mobilization of the magnitude of World War II.

The report points out that Negroes enjoy relatively better opportunities in the armed services than in the civilian economy. And it adds, "Service in the United States Armed Forces is the *only* experience open to the Negro American in which he is truly treated as an equal: not as a Negro equal to a white, but as one man equal to any other man in a world where the categories 'Negro' and 'white' do not exist. . . . There is another special quality about military service for Negro men: It is an utterly masculine world. Given the strains of the disorganized and matrifocal family life in which so many Negro youths come of age, the Armed Forces are a dramatic and desperately needed change: a world away from women, a world run by strong men of unquestioned authority, where discipline, if harsh, is nonetheless orderly and predictable, and where rewards, if limited, are granted on the basis of performance." The report then notes that, "At the recent Civil Rights Commission hearings in Mississippi a witness testified that his Army service was in fact 'the only time I ever felt like a man'."

Mr. Moynihan's report appears to oversimplify some of its conclusions in the process of hammering them home. After all, the white family structure also is undergoing some profound alterations, not unrelated to changing aspirations of women. More to the point, most of those recruited for military service would return before long (and perhaps with inflated expectations) to the same troubles listed in the Moynihan report – too few jobs, too many unwanted children, ever-present humiliation. The collision between Negro hopes and urban realities is only temporarily delayed. Moreover, the armed forces are not and should not be a dumping ground for society's failures, for men whose lives are one long rejection. And while requirements for military service might be relaxed, if the military is to be asked to take more responsibility for the education, care and discipline of thousands of men rejected by white America, it would very quickly need to acquire skills with which it is not naturally endowed.

# Marriage and the Draft

When the President announced that marriage would no longer be an acceptable draft dodge, he probably didn't anticipate the flurry of pre-midnight weddings he was setting off. But it is not astonishing that many young men would rather hitch than fight, especially since erratic and inequitable draft practices allow about as many to elude the draft as have to serve. Nearly 50 percent of the male population between the ages of 19 and 26 will go untouched by the draft; joining so large a group can hardly be considered a dishonor. For many, dodging the draft has become a game, a game with very high stakes so long as the war in Vietnam goes on.

There have been as many ways of getting out of service as ways of fulfilling one's military obligation, perhaps more. Talking to a few reluctant potential draftees reveals scores of "proven" methods for flunking the physical or otherwise showing the Selective Service that one is unfit. Many of the ploys don't work. However, after one had tried unsuccessfully to reactivate his trick knee, he could always go back to school or become a teacher or join the Peace Corps or, until now, get married.

Marriage won't work any more, but there are 600,000 young men who were fortunate enough to repeat the vows before Mr. Johnson decided that men with wives will be as draftable as bachelors. Those who married before August 27 will remain at the bottom of the 1-A list. Although they too may eventually have to go, the President apparently decided that for the time being at least those who married to evade the draft should not be twice punished.



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"THESE DAYS ONE MUST MOVE IN THE ORBIT OF THE AMERICANS"

# A "Liberated" Village

*From a Correspondent in Vietnam*

As the American manpower commitment in South Vietnam grows, so does friction and misunderstanding between Americans and Vietnamese. There is comradeship and devotion between individuals, but the relationship is basically unequal. The Americans are in a position to give, or to withhold; the Vietnamese can only receive, or refuse to receive.

The other day I went to see a Vietnamese regional forces major, whom I shall call Major Pham. For years he had been a guerrilla fighter, both against the French and the Communists, and later against Ngo Dinh Diem. His name still inspires awe and a certain amount of fear in his region. But warfare has changed greatly since his best years as a fighter. New weapons, new tactics involving close coordination between ground, air and heliborne units have come into play.

Major Pham is on bad terms with his superior in the Vietnamese military hierarchy. Whenever he needs supplies or equipment, he must go to the province chief's military deputy, who is also a major but whose professional career has been as a staff officer. The military deputy has consistently withheld supplies from Major Pham. In his extremity, the major went to a neighboring American Special Forces camp to cadge medical supplies and odd pieces of equipment. Conscious of his need both of American supplies and of American military advice as regards the new tactics, Major Pham has been trying to get a fulltime American adviser for a long time.

I asked Major Pham if he didn't feel that having a fulltime American adviser would rob him of his independence – the very quality that kept him at odds with his superiors. "These days," he said, "one must move in the orbit of the Americans. Why shouldn't we accept American advice and aid, seeing that they have been courageous enough to leave their own country and come here to help us fight the Communists?"

I then went around to see the American Special Forces captain who had been helping this major. The captain was away, and his deputy, a second lieutenant, immediately made it plain that he did not share the camp commander's regard for the major. In fact, his comments were scathing. Major Pham was no fighter; he did his utmost to avoid engagements with the Viet Cong; whenever participating in operations with other army units, he would jeopardize the entire campaign by refusing to complete his assigned mission. "I don't know why they keep them on," the American lieutenant said. "If only we could have a couple of battalions of Vietnamese paratroopers or marines, we could clean out this area in no time."

A young medical corpsman came up during our conversation. He, too, had participated in operations with Major Pham's outfit. Asked for his opinion, he replied succinctly, "They stink." He had been with them on one operation where it seemed to him that the troops had avoided enemy contact on purpose. "We just zigzagged this way, and that way, and finally we went home." Both the lieutenant and the soldier cited the case of an American soldier who had been wounded while with the battalion. Instead of doing anything to help the wounded man, the Vietnamese just stood around waiting for the evacuation helicopter to arrive. When the helicopter came, the man had to be carried down from a mountain to a place where the helicopter could land. Again, there was no help from the Vietnamese. Another American had to do the job alone.

One reason for the controversy surrounding the major is a conflict between *American* military and civilian advisers in the province. The military adviser thinks this ex-guerrilla leader is undisciplined, outdated, hopeless. However, the civilian adviser, who knows Major Pham well, thinks that as an ex-guerrilla, Major Pham understands Mao Tse-tung's famous precept about swimming in popular waters. The civilian watched the major occupy an area the government considered lost to the Viet Cong, and was impressed by the imaginative tactics he had employed. The village was still far from fully pacified, but it was no longer isolated from government-held areas. Working through the village pagoda and its priest, Major Pham gradually built up the villagers' confidence that his forces were there to stay and to protect the people, and not simply to rampage through the village in fruitless attempts to "kill the Viet Cong."

To the civilian adviser, Major Pham's dilatory tactics on the battlefield arise partly from a kind of "If you don't help me, I won't help you" attitude that is disconcerting to Americans but that is widespread in the Vietnamese army. Partly it arises too from the major's knowledge of his own inadequacy in regard to the new tactics of war, as evidenced by his pathetic plea for a fulltime American adviser. Tactics, the civilian American felt, could be learned. What could not be learned was the major's long and intimate knowledge of the terrain, of the people, and of the psychology of the



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guerrilla. Though recently arrived, the Special Forces captain who had befriended the major felt the same way, despite unfavorable reports from his subordinates.

In regard to the most damaging accusation, that the major's men had refused to help a wounded American, the civilian American said that versions of the incident differed. According to one version, which he was inclined to believe, the wound was caused, not by the Viet Cong, as reported to the Special Forces camp, but by the American's own careless handling of a grenade. The grenade had exploded, injuring the American. The Vietnamese were terrified. They had no interpreter, no one who could explain what had happened to higher American authority. Their one thought was that the American must not be allowed to die while in their hands. He had already caused them enough trouble. In any case, his inability to speak Vietnamese and therefore to communicate with them had made his presence practically useless. By having nothing further to do with him, they might avoid further difficulties. It may have been short-sighted, panicky and inhumane, but it was understandable. Such was the evaluation of this American civilian, who speaks fluent Vietnamese.

To get back to the Special Forces lieutenant. He had participated in a recent operation during which American planes had bombed a Viet Cong-occupied village. Then Vietnamese army units had rounded up the villagers and burned their surviving homes. This was in order to prevent the villagers from resettling in the area, which government forces could not protect. The villagers were allowed to take with them what they could carry, and the majority of them were housed temporarily in a government military outpost. The American lieutenant felt the action was perfectly justified. The villagers had been warned by leaflet time and again, for at least three months, that they should not supply the Viet Cong, that the government could not protect them if they stayed in that area, and that they should move elsewhere. None of them had done so. "It was a VC (Viet Cong) village," the lieutenant said downrightly.

Major Pham and his men had also participated in that action. Hundreds of villagers from the bombed hamlets had in fact been housing temporarily in his area. But to him, the whole operation was pointless. The purpose could not have been to kill Viet Cong, for there were no Viet Cong killed either in the bombing or in the sweep through the village. Nor could the purpose have been to "liberate" the village, since the government forces knew before they began the operation that they would have to withdraw once it was over. So the only valid objective was to deny the village and its supplies to the Viet Cong. But this would be achieved only for a limited period of time. To get people to move permanently from that village, one would have to give them alternative ricefields or an alternative source of income. One could not treat the people as permanent refugees, living on doles of American bulgar wheat and vegetable oil. The minute the people realized that this was in fact what the government forces intended to do, they began to filter back to their own village, despite the risks. The people know that they will have to supply rice and other provisions to the Viet Cong, and that this will invite renewed government retaliation.

But what can they do? Major Pham asked. Their livelihood is there, in the bombed village. He, for one, could not forbid them to return. Nor did he forbid the people in his area from continuing to trade with and keep up relations with villagers under Viet Cong control. It means added income for the people in his area. It also provides him with information as to what is going on in the Viet Cong areas.

# The Military Moves into Space

President Johnson's decision to allow the Air Force to build and launch five manned orbital laboratories (MOL), at a cost of $1.5 billion or more, is likely to increase tensions between the US and the USSR and to spark a similar military space program by the Russians. If so, the Air Force will certainly urge further escalation of its own military space program, raising the specter that space will become a fantastically expensive battlefield of the future.

Even before the Russians launched the space age in October 1957 with Sputnik I, some US Air Force officers were predicting, almost hopefully, that military operations would move out into space as a logical extension of aerial combat. In their ignorance of the rigors and the immutable laws of orbital physics, they envisioned space bombers that would drop their weapons from space and spacecraft interceptors that would shoot down enemy orbital bombers and engage in space dog-fights. The scenarios were drawn largely from the Buck Rogers comic strip of the late 1920's.

These ambitions were frustrated in 1958 when the Eisenhower Administration and Congress decided to emphasize peaceful exploration and established a civilian space agency – the National Aeronautics and



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Space Administration (NASA). One major reason for giving the MOL program to the USAF rather than to NASA is that the space agency has avoided military space activities partly in deference to neutral African nations which provide sites for critically needed tracking stations. The USAF had to content itself with developing unmanned Samos reconnaissance satellites and unmanned Midas satellites, the latter designed to warn of enemy missile attack. For several years the USAF sat on the sidelines of manned space operations, providing the rocket boosters, many of the astronauts and much of the know-how for NASA whose resulting Mercury shots served to boost the space agency's prestige and its budget.

Then, in the spring of 1961, President Kennedy proposed that NASA launch its Apollo lunar landing program, a project which would swell its budget and prestige dramatically. The USAF counter-attacked with a propaganda campaign to convince the public and Congress that space posed a grave military threat and that the Kennedy Administration was derelict in not allowing the Air Force to develop manned military spacecraft. Gen. Bernard A. Schriever, commander of the Air Force Systems Command and who, last week, was named to direct the MOL program, said in October, 1961: "We cannot permit space to be dominated by those who have shown themselves to be the enemies of freedom. For the nation that dominates space might – if it chose – dominate the world." Gen. Schriever went on to recommend the development of manned military spacecraft, calling them "vital" for the "ultimate survival of this nation and the rest of the Free World." For the next 18 months the nation's press was filled with articles, inspired by the Air Force, telling of the dire threat to national survival unless the Kennedy Administration changed its views. (See "That Attack From Space," NR, May 4, 1963, p. 17.) The Air Force view was echoed by its champions in Congress and was later raised, weakly, by the Republicans in the last Presidential campaign.

When Defense Secretary McNamara asked the Air Force for details on the military operations it proposed to conduct in space, the answer boiled down to this: "We really don't know, but if we can have a few billion dollars to go up and look around, perhaps we can find a mission in space for man." At a time when the US had increased its defense spending by 20 percent in a crash effort to overtake the Soviet lead in ICBM missiles, it is not surprising that the USAF requests were turned down. Nearly two years ago, McNamara finally told the Air Force to come up with specific proposals. Despite the years of public complaint that it was being blocked from performing vital military space missions, the Air Force had to turn to industry and civilian scientists to suggest useful military tasks in space and experiments to demonstrate their feasibility. Meanwhile, the experience gained with the Samos and Midas unmanned satellites had begun to suggest that military observers in space might prove useful. Samos had to make thousands of reconnaissance photos which must later be painstakingly analyzed on earth by photo-interpreters to locate those containing objects of military interest; perhaps a trained photo-interpreter in space could be much more selective and photograph only those areas of potential interest.

The Midas satellite, designed to detect enemy missiles from their infrared (heat) radiation did not prove too successful, because it frequently mistook sunlight reflected from clouds for enemy missile radiation. A human observer might not make the same mistake.

Granting this potential superiority of manned observers for such operations, we don't yet know how long man can live in orbit without deleterious effects on body or mind. There has been reason to fear that the isolation of space might produce hallucinations which could be disastrous for a mission intended to warn of enemy attack. Until the very recent Gemini space shots, no US astronaut had remained in orbit for more than a couple of days and Soviet cosmonauts who had stayed longer often experienced difficulties.

Unless military observers can retain their efficiency and rationality in orbit for periods of at least several weeks, the cost of maintaining a continuous manned space watch would probably be prohibitive, compared to other techniques for accomplishing the same objective. One of the primary purposes of the MOL experiments selected for 1968-70, will be to determine the effect of long space missions, up to 30 days, on man's body and spirit. MOL astronauts will live and work in a can 10 ft. in diameter and 41 ft. long. Air Force astronauts will conduct experiments to determine man's perception as a reconnaissance observer, his ability as a repairman of equipment and as an assembler of large objects in space, such as a telescope.

This is the extent of the program now authorized by the President. As such, it poses no direct military threat to the Soviets. But in view of previous USAF statements about the need to "control space," it would be surprising if the Russians don't conclude that there is more behind the project. The Air Force sees MOL as an opening wedge for an expanded military space mission and a means of counteracting its declining share of the defense budget. If MOL prompts the Soviets to expand their own military space effort, the USAF can cite this as reason to expand MOL, to give it the ability to maneuver in space and rendezvous with Soviet satellites to inspect them for possible "hostile intent."

Then will come the question of destroying or disabling such Soviet satellites. Four years ago Gen. Schriever put it this way: "Should a satellite be determined (by inspection) to be hostile, we must have a



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capability to neutralize it. If we cannot deal with such satellites, it is doubtful that our nation can continue to preserve its essential values." If the Soviets should follow suit, attempting to inspect and disable our military unmanned reconnaissance satellites, the Air Force will certainly seek approval to send up armed manned spacecraft to protect our satellites. This will set the stage for occasional space skirmishes.

It is, however, possible that MOL will demonstrate the feasibility of a few American and Soviet spacemen in their respective spacecraft operating a continuous space watch. If it does, and if both nations exercise restraint, it could have a stabilizing effect, as have our mutual unmanned reconnaissance satellites. If man can be an efficient observer in orbit for extended periods, the time may come when the US should invite the United Nations to maintain a continuous space patrol, with a multi-national crew, to warn of any impending or surprise attack.

Raymond D. Senter

# Goldberg at the UN

## *Diplomacy as the Art of the Possible*

*by Nathaniel McKitterick*

The ways in which governments confess their mistakes are inevitably awkward. So it was with Ambassador Arthur Goldberg's maiden speech to the United Nations Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations.

For more than a year it had been obvious that the General Assembly was not going to yield to US insistence that the Soviet Union and France lose their Assembly vote for not paying their shares of the UN peace-keeping operation in the Congo, which both governments opposed. The problem for the State Department had been how to swallow four years of brilliant legal argument, without actually confessing that the argument was neither grounded in any practical US interest, nor supported by any prospect of diplomatic success.

The task was to have fallen to Adlai Stevenson in the very week after he was struck down by a heart attack in London. What Stevenson would have said, nobody now will know; but he was very anxious to get off the hook of a policy with which he had become disillusioned. It was his doubts which prevented the State Department from forcing a vote in the General Assembly last December. Stevenson wanted to toss in the towel, along with a voluntary contribution to ease the UN current cash crisis, as several countries, including Britain, Canada, Nigeria, the Dutch and Scandinavians, have already done. But the task of announcing the inevitable fell to a new man, former Justice Goldberg.

What Goldberg did was to recite to the UN committee the full legal brief of the State Department, which if taken literally amounts to an obituary for the world organization, and then give a rousing "Long live the United Nations!" The United Nations had to be resurrected quickly in order that it could be of some practical use to the US in settling the war in Vietnam. As Goldberg told the committee, "The world is so full of danger and tribulation that every part of the United Nations peace-keeping machinery must be in working order. . . ."

Thanks to Goldberg's speech the "United Nations peace-keeping machinery" is now in about as good working order as it ever was in this imperfect world. Until the State Department chose to try to enforce the authority of the General Assembly to levy obligatory assessments for any and all authorized peace-keeping operations, the United Nations had managed to finance its several peace-keeping chores in a variety of pragmatic ways – largely through voluntary contributions, but supplemented in the case of Kashmir and the early Palestine and Indonesian "observer" teams through regular budget appropriations. Most lawyers agree that the General Assembly has unlimited authority to levy compulsory assessments to support any action which it legally authorizes. The International Court declared in an advisory opinion that the Congo peace-keeping operation was legally authorized. But just as Congress has never been imprudent enough to levy all the taxes for which it has authority, so no serious student of the

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UN expected a major power, much less the United States, to make full enforcement of this purely legal authority the keystone of its policy.

Such has been the case for the past four years, and historians are certain to wonder what conceivable US interest was being served. The State Department's legal effort to invoke Article 19 against the Russians and French carried with it the implication that the US favored *as a political matter* broad taxing powers in the General Assembly in all peace-keeping operations authorized by that body. This explosive notion was in the public domain right up to last month with hardly any serious discussion, either in Congress or other responsible quarters. This was partly because the incident was not always viewed, even in the State Department, as one of lofty legal principle, but rather as a conventional Cold War confrontation between the Soviets and the US.

But one is tempted to conclude also that the once large "UN constituency" in the United States has drastically shrunk through disillusionment, boredom, or confusion over the subtle intricacies of the world organization.

The readiness of so many Americans now to bury Article 19 and with it any valid authority in the General Assembly to assess dues testifies to the great damage done to the United Nations by US policy. For obvious political and face-saving reasons, Ambassador Goldberg was forced to tell the UN committee that, "If any member can insist on making an exception to the principle of collective financial responsibility with respect to certain activities of the organization, the United States reserves the same option. . . ." However, one can easily envision the utter chaos which would result if all the 114 members of the Assembly started exercising "item vetoes" over programs in the UN budget which they didn't particularly like. On the surface, the opportunity for trouble-making is unlimited. Back in 1954 Congress passed a law limiting US contributions to the UN to one-third of the total, itself a clear violation of the "principle of collective financial responsibility." There will be no lack of imaginative people suggesting ways for Congress to do more in this vein now.

*Patchwork*

Not so Arthur Goldberg. Despite his abrupt metamorphosis from Justice Goldberg to Ambassador Goldberg, our new representative to the United Nations is already talking as though he feels right at home. And indeed his experience as a skilled negotiator in domestic affairs is a valuable asset. The combination of Lawyer Goldberg and Negotiator Goldberg promises to be just what is needed to breathe some reality into the US policy in the UN and restore the proven usefulness of the world organization to the aims of US diplomacy.

To Arthur Goldberg, as to most confirmed lawyers, there is nothing quite so noble and useful as a great legal document. So naturally when he starts to talk about his new assignment he pulls a copy of the UN Charter out of his pocket. (He says he always carried a copy of the Constitution with him when he was on the Supreme Court.) And reading the UN Charter causes him to wonder if we haven't forgotten that besides "embodying humanity's highest hopes" it is also a treaty. And "treaties and laws adopted thereto" under our Constitution are the laws of the land. "Establishing a rule of law, as we know from our own national experience, is not easy," he told the UN committee. He tells his congressional audience much the same, leaving critics like Senators Dirksen and Hickenlooper to ponder whether they really want the General Assembly's authority to assess obligatory assessments for peace-keeping to be the cornerstone of our policy.

As a treaty, the UN Charter transcends the Cold War, and the persistent failure of Americans to discern this fact through the continual confrontations between the US and Soviet Union has bred confusion.

"We must work for the day when unpalatable decisions are accepted by a sovereign power," Goldberg says, "but we must build on the treaty brick by brick."

However, it is Negotiator Goldberg, rather than

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Lawyer Goldberg, who is working hardest today. Vietnam, of course, is the "dispute." One of Goldberg's first official acts was to deliver a letter from President Johnson to the President of the Security Council, informing that body again of "the willingness of the United States to enter into negotiations for peaceful settlement without conditions." President Johnson "again invited all members of the United Nations, individually and collectively, to use their influence to bring about discussions in a negotiating forum."

The letter was misconstrued by some non-permanent members of the Council who felt that the United States was "passing the buck" and should have called for a formal Council meeting on Vietnam. But Goldberg quietly pointed out that a formal Council debate on Vietnam could only result in posturing by the Council members, including the United States. Such a debate could only make matters worse. He convinced the Council that the United States was seriously advertising for mediators; not just people to volunteer their services, but people willing to seek out the disputants to see if some ground for negotiation could be arranged. "You never know," says the old hand at settling labor-management disputes, "what mediator will strike the responsive chord."

### *Quiet Negotiations*

Negotiator Goldberg sees the UN of first importance today as a place for "diplomacy – quiet negotiations." And Lawyer Goldberg offers a supporting brief. He reminds us that Article 33 of the Charter commands "parties to any dispute . . . *first of all* to seek peaceful means of their own choice." It is only when you come to Article 34 that the Security Council is authorized to "investigate."

From Goldberg's view of the Charter and of the UN's usefulness, particularly its potential usefulness in Vietnam, it follows that he is not particularly interested in trying to find new legal ways to define the General Assembly's authority to levy obligatory assessments. Of course, some nations, perhaps even some friendly nations, are likely to follow a policy of "hot pursuit" of the aborted US policy, and try to force the US to accept some version of the very "collective financial responsibility" the US has been championing. This most certainly would have happened, Ambassador Goldberg believes, if the State Department had been foolish enough to press its policy to a vote. Anybody familiar with the way the General Assembly works knows it cannot be forced to vote on a clear-cut issue which the overwhelming majority wishes to duck, any more than Congress can be forced to vote in similar circumstances. In all likelihood, if the US had insisted on a vote, it would have been faced with a resolution upholding the principle of collective financial responsibility in the abstract, but specifically excepting the Congo and Middle East peace-keeping operations from Article 19. This in effect was the consensus reached by the special UN Peace-Keeping Committee last week.

Back to pragmatism is clearly Goldberg's guideline, and nothing else will restore the usefulness of the UN and permit rebuilding of its shattered support here in the US. It is too bad that the exigencies of Goldberg's initial task as Ambassador made it impossible for him to announce a voluntary contribution to help solve the celebrated UN "financial" crisis. With so many friendly countries already taking the lead, it is too bad that the United States has to put itself back on the level of the Russians in a puerile exercise over who gives first.

But unless Congress raises a hoop and a holler, a US contribution will be made soon. The bills outstanding which the US and several other countries hold in the name of the United Nations on account of services rendered in the Congo will most certainly be torn up. More difficult is the problem of service payments on some $170 million in outstanding UN "Congo" bonds. The UN bond issue was one of the worst expedients devised in the hectic days of 1962. It was sold to Congress by the State Department with the ill-considered proviso that the Russians would be made to pay their share or lose their vote under Article 19. This promise, more than any other single factor, caused State Department lawyers to build up a big head of steam behind their Article 19 policy. Unless there is an epidemic of common sense now in which all the outstanding bonds are simply destroyed by their holders, the service payments are going to be a great headache for the UN Secretariat and budget officers in Washington for a long time to come. It is a headache, but at the same time there is an infinite variety of administrative gimmicks available for preventing the bond issue from again becoming an international issue, if the politicians are willing not to force such an issue.

For his part, Arthur Goldberg is not losing sleep over financial matters. He knows he has not heard the last from his congressional critics and that he has a big job ahead, rebuilding the shattered confidence of his "UN constituency." He is not looking back, but ahead – and not just at the United Nations, but at how the United Nations can help settle the war in Vietnam. Whereas Ambassador Stevenson was somewhat diffident about pushing his views in Washington, Ambassador Goldberg is going to be heard in the Capital as much as in New York. And despite his lack of experience in world diplomacy, he brings to the Cabinet and to the State Department a combination of legal training, negotiating experience and articulate advocacy that we haven't seen for a long while.



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# Congress Listens to the Bankers

The House of Representatives is being noisily importuned to sanction six bank mergers challenged by the Justice Department as blatant violations of antitrust laws. And there is a good chance the House will yield, as the Senate has already, to the bankers. The proposed legislation, known as the bank merger bill, is under consideration by a House Banking subcommittee, whose chairman, Wright Patman, is doing everything he can to prevent a surrender to Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. and five other bank groups. The bill would grant four of the banks immunity from pending prosecution and would nullify court decisions which have already found against the other two mergers.

The Justice Department tried in vain to forestall the six mergers pending a determination of their legality by the courts. But the banks were in a hurry. In each case they argued that they could always unscramble later should the courts find against them. In one instance, involving the Mercantile Trust Co. and the Security Trust Co. of St. Louis, the banks insisted that they would be "far more willing to resolve the problems of divestiture if this should be the ultimate result of the litigation, than . . . to endure the hardships of a preliminary injunction." Now the merged banks are arguing that divestiture would be impracticable. They want to have it both ways, and there are plenty of congressmen ready to vote with them.

Not only would the bill give special dispensation to the six banks, it would also seriously limit the Justice Department in bringing action against other questionable mergers in the future by forcing the Attorney General to contest a merger within 30 days, or not at all. In addition the bill would release from the threat of antitrust action all 2,200-odd bank mergers consummated since 1950, even if they should someday become dangerous monopolies.

Banking interests insist that as a "regulated" industry banking should not come under the monopoly provisions of the Clayton and Sherman Acts, but the Supreme Court has ruled otherwise, and Attorney General Katzenbach has argued convincingly that banking is not fundamentally unlike any of the other businesses which fall within the purview of antitrust legislation and should not, therefore, be treated preferentially. If anything Justice has been lax in contesting bank mergers, challenging only eight of 700 merger applications approved by federal banking agencies during the past five years.

The position advanced by the big bankers is not even relevant to the principal objection to the bill – that it is special-interest legislation written for six banks which do not much like the prospect of demerging.

If the merger bill is enacted it will have the effect of rewarding defiance while penalizing the many banks which at one time or other considered mergers but didn't go through with them on the advice of the Justice Department that they would be monopolistic.

Five of the six merger suits were brought during the tenure of Attorney General Kennedy, on the grounds that they would have "an unfair effect in attracting customers from remaining banks and that competition in many banking services would be hindered."

The Supreme Court has already held that the merger of the First National Bank & Trust and the Security Trust Co. of Lexington, Kentucky, was in violation of the Sherman Act, and the District court has ordered divestiture. The bill would let that merger stand, however. Five New York banks account for over 70 percent of the city's bank business. In the Manufacturers Hanover case a District court found the merger in violation of both the Clayton and Sherman Acts. The Manufacturers Hanover merger created the US's fourth largest bank, clearly, according to the court, violating the law. Subsequent to the District court's order, terms for an equitable settlement were agreed to between Manufacturers Hanover and the Justice Department. Then, just 26 days after the court had told Manufacturers Hanover to unscramble, Senator Robertson obligingly introduced his bank merger bill. Chairman Patman later quipped, "When they stepped on the toes of a big New York banker, he put up a squawk heard round the world." The squawk was certainly heard, and respectfully listened to, in Washington. The Senate hurried consideration of the bill and, without waiting for an opposing report from Justice, or for that matter without getting testimony from other opponents of the bill, closed off committee hearings and passed it by a voice vote. Only Senators Hart and Robert Kennedy spoke out against it in debate; other liberal Senators sat mute.

The American Banking Association and some of the individual banks concerned have carried on some brisk lobbying. The ABA sent out letters stamped "urgent" saying that it is just not fair to destroy public confidence in banks by dissolving mergers "consummated under what everyone thought was the law of the land." Everyone, they must mean, except the Justice Department. The big bankers hope to pry their bill out of the Patman subcommittee in time for passage by the House before adjournment and, not so incidentally, before there is time to effect divestiture in any of the six cases.

DAVID SANFORD



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# Grammar in the Cold War

*by Anne and Lowell Tillett*

Instead of the old "please close the window" type of sentence, the up-to-date Soviet student of the English language is asked to stand before his class and translate: "To tell you the honest truth, I think Shakespeare's overrated, don't you?" And the American class is supposed to chant antiphonally in Russian "She likes *Dr. Zhivago*." Come to think of it, what better way is there to indoctrinate an impressionable youth than to slip him a subliminal message while he is occupied with more immediate problems of spelling, syntax and idiomatic usage?

All of this came into public view recently when *Komsomolskaya Pravda* complained that Professor Christopher Dawson, of Syracuse University, in his recently issued *Modern Russian I*, had included "grammatical exercises which blacken our country and people." The youth newspaper cited such bits of conversation as these:

"I wonder what's for dinner today."
"Same as always, cabbage soup and porridge is our fare."
"And what do I need a profession for?"
"The main thing is to get yourself set up in a cushy job by knowing the right people."

The two young editors who registered the complaint also objected to sentences referring to poor living conditions, long queues, and Soviet young people who buy jazz records on the black market and listen to Radio Free Europe.

The Dawson textbook, written under a contract from the US Office of Education, does contain all these things, as well as leading statements like

"I want to drive my own car."
"Don't talk to that American."
"No use going to Mars; there's no life there either."
"And you don't have a map of China, either?"

The fact is that the two young Russian editors themselves studied English from textbooks designed to create a caricature of the United States. If they used one of the most popular Soviet textbooks, they were called on to translate or paraphrase these sentences, selected from readings in American literature:

"As a Southern gentleman, he was moved by a white woman's tears, even a poor white woman's."
"She wears a fur coat that must have cost her five hundred dollars if it cost her a nickel, and every time I look at it I think of my wife and get mad about the mouth."
"A cop came after me but I cracked him one."
"It was the Ku Klux Klan costume, he knew, but founded on black instead of white. And the effect was terrifying."

Our interest in textbook ideology started accidentally three years ago while we were riding on a bus in the Soviet Union. Olga, our Intourist guide, dropped by our seat to ask our help with some American idioms in her homework for an advanced English class at the Foreign Language Institute. She was attempting to read O. Henry's "Lost on Dress Parade." The story is about Towers Chandler, an $18-a-week office boy who puts aside one dollar each week in order to pretend to be in high society for one fleeting evening out of every seventy. He meets a working girl – actually a Park Avenue debutante slumming in her maid's dress – and takes her to dinner. After a conversation in which not a word of truth is spoken they return to their separate quarters – he to an unheated room to put away his evening clothes for ten weeks, and she to her mansion to discuss with her sister the emptiness of the lives of the idle rich.

Our curiosity aroused, we glanced at the first page of Olga's textbook. It was entitled *Jack London by Himself*, two excerpts from his autobiography. He begins by relating how he was forced to drop out of school at eight to work. At his second school "there were days when we did not sit at all, for the master used to get drunk very often, and then one of the elder boys would thrash him. To even things up, the master would then thrash the younger lads, so you can think what sort of school it was. . . . At fifteen I was a man among men, and if I had a spare nickel I spent it on beer instead of candy. . . . One of my earliest and strongest impressions was of the ignorance of other people."

We told Olga that as teachers we had a special interest in textbooks and asked to borrow hers. We discovered that the authors had tailored the London excerpts to present an extremely depressing view of American life and culture. Our hero – a budding genius frustrated by a decadent society – becomes an "oyster pirate," and then switches sides abruptly to join the fishery patrol, is "armed with a steel table fork," and sent to arrest the "lawless Chinese, Greeks and Italians who were at that time engaged in illegal fishing." He tramps across the country, gets jailed for vagrancy, holds several odd jobs briefly, including a thirteen-hour shift in a factory, and is forced out of the Klondike because of an outbreak of scurvy. He eventually sells his first story for $5 after numerous rejection slips. Through it all London tells his young Soviet readers that he developed a philosophy of life: "The whole tramping experience made me become a Socialist. . . . I had formulated a gospel of work. . . . The pride I took in a hard day's work well done would be inconceivable to you. I was as faithful a wage-slave as ever a capitalist exploited."

The textbook in question is *English for Senior Students*, by Zeltin, Shivotovskaya and Tenson, published in



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1961 and widely used for students with six or more years of instruction in English. It contains 16 highly idiomatic readings by modern British and American writers, dozens of shorter selections and grammar exercises, and has a special supplement on the political systems of Britain and the United States. Later we were able to buy a copy, as well as several other Soviet textbooks for the study of English. We found all of them similar in ideological content, but this one has remained our favorite, and all the examples given below come from it.

To give even a brief abstract of the 16 long readings would be tedious, but here is a glimpse of some of the excerpts selected by the compilers of the textbook: Gregory, a newspaperman, has the goods on the mayor and his machine, but is obliged to get out of sight until after the election (Dreiser, *Will You Walk Into My Parlor*); Minna Hooven, a naïve and virtuous girl, spends her last penny searching for employment, and is lured into prostitution (Norris, *The Octopus*); Lord Augustus Highcastle, a precursor of Colonel Blimp, is hoodwinked into releasing secret British documents (Shaw, *Augustus Does His Bit*); Caistner, an unemployed actor who is preoccupied with his reputation and appearance, manages by a thoroughly hypocritical conversation to get a free meal off a wealthy patron (Galsworthy, *The Broken Boot*); Barras, a mine owner too stingy to make his mines safe in spite of repeated warnings, manages to save his reputation after a fatal explosion (Cronin, *The Stars Look Down*); Grebb, an American who is not further identified in the given passage, is inducted into the Black Legion of America, an organization similar to the Ku Klux Klan (Maltz, *The Underground Stream*); Tom Davlin, a Manhattan cabbie, has to drive his cab during a violent strike of his buddies because his wife has just had an operation (Halper, *Scab!*). The reader will have to take our word for it that these are typical characters. The only good guys are miners, common soldiers, clerks, cab drivers – proletarians all.

But back to those grammar exercises. The technique here is reemphasis of the most highly colored sentences. "Exercise I" following *Jack London by Himself*, given here in its entirety, speaks for itself:

I. *Paraphrase the following sentences:*

1. Now, when my years are nearly doubled, I am out on a hunt for the boyhood I never had.
2. Through reading such stuff my mind was necessarily ridiculously conventional.
3. The hills and valleys around were eyesores and aching pits.
4. I saw the workers in the shambles at the bottom of the Social Pit.

With a little practice we found that we could predict with reasonable accuracy which sentences in the readings would be excised for closer inspection.

There are also the inevitable "fill in the blank" exercises. Here the basic material is a shorter selection from modern British or American literature. Note the picture of the class enemy conveyed in this passage, identified only as being from "J. Galsworthy":

*Insert prepositions, or adverbs wherever required:*

Folding his opera hat, he sat——, drew——his lavender gloves——the old way, and took——his glasses——a long look——the house. Dropping them at last——his folded hat, he fixed his eyes——the curtain. More poignantly than ever he felt that it was all——and done——him.

When the student is asked to translate from Russian to English, he is given material from Soviet studies about these writers which piles on biographical information of the desired type. There is a passage on Jack London which rehearses all the unpleasantries of London's autobiographical sketch – child labor, truancy, vagrancy, unemployment, imprisonment, adding that "all these experiences left London with a new view of bourgeois society, its morals and politics." A similar Russian passage on O. Henry dwells almost entirely on his prison experience.

The grammar exercises confirm one's suspicion that British and American humor does not get through. One can forget all about the cold war while reading Mark Twain's report of his personal experiences in "Running for Governor." The candidate, who considered that "I had one prominent advantage over these gentlemen and that was – good character," is subjected to a series of fantastic editorial slanders (for theft, perjury, drunkenness, lying and body snatching). The opponents drive Twain out of the race with their greatest stunt: "Nine toddling children, of all shades of color and degrees of raggedness, were taught to rush to the platform at a public meeting, and clasp me around the legs and call me 'Pa'." One can forget, that is, until he checks the exercises, in which the student is asked to "speak on the foul means political parties in capitalist countries resort to during an election campaign. . . . In what way does Mark Twain expose the election system of the USA?"

Another type of exercise requires more imaginative treatment from the

Commentary*
higher education
(cont'd)

*GRAYSON KIRK, President of Columbia University says: "Commentary provides a means whereby the general reader will find stimulation – and, fortunately, provocation as well – through articles relating to foreign affairs, the arts, literature, Jewish culture, sociology, and in short, the whole range of questions concerning the nature and direction of our society."
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Soviet student. Having read a highly biased selection on a subject, he is given a topic and asked to elaborate on it orally:

> Speak on a Strike. Describe a fight between strikers and the police.
> Speak on the British Constitution, its façade and reality.
> Speak on the origin of the Ku Klux Klan.

The theme which comes up most frequently in all the exercises is class. In addition to the passages already cited, the student wrestles with these:

> They all knew Tom Perkins. The first thing about him was that he was not a gentleman.
> But a Country Club regarded him differently. They didn't like the smell of his family tree.
> He had been born the son of a packing-house butcher in a Chicago slum, and it pleased him only too well to bring the stockyard stink into the bailiwick of the old, envied class.

Even the most non-political subject is likely to receive a bad press. Take the weather, for example. The Soviet student might conclude subconsciously from his textbooks that the weather in the West is almost always bad: "The rain was lashing at the rails and the wind was cold. . . . Rain was falling heavily when the theaters let out. . . . As usual in the country it was raining heavily." Even when the sun shines, it brings no blessing: "The sunlight in this damned town was very strong, very hard on seams and buttonholes, and knees and elbows!"

The last 60 pages of the book, titled simply "Supplement," are devoted entirely to the government and politics of Britain and the US. Each government is introduced with passages from *The International Year Book and Statesmen's Who's Who, 1958*. These readings are set up as foils for corrective essays which follow. The British system is interpreted by such party-liners as Harry Pollitt, John Gollan and William Gallacher, who explain that "the real power in Britain is concentrated in the hands of the great trusts and banks," that the two-party system and parliamentary debates are all a sham.

The information on the US is not refuted in so direct a fashion, but is made ludicrous in the subsequent passages by American writers. The first of these is a most unlikely author of an *exposé:* Cordell Hull. The short passages from his memoirs are selected with great care, beginning with a reference to those Congressmen, early in this century, who occupied themselves with the distribution of "garden seed, agricultural bulletins and yearbooks" to their constituents. There follows a blow-by-blow account of "the toppling of 'Uncle Joe' Cannon from his Speaker's dictatorship." (Students are then asked: "What was Cordell Hull's impression of the Congress?") The executive branch is disposed of with excerpts from "High Treason," Albert Kahn's account of the Harding nomination, election and Administration, climaxed by William Allen White's comment that "the story of Babylon is a Sunday school story compared with the story of Washington from June 1920, until July 1923." The third reading is the section of William Z. Foster's *History of the Communist Party of the United States.* And finally the compilers have found a passage from Thomas A. Bailey's *Diplomatic History of the American People* describing how the negotiators of the Clayton-Bulwar Treaty "deliberately consented to use ambiguous language in order to conceal their official differences" as they put their imperialist stamp on Central America.

Considering that the Soviet reader knows nothing about US election campaigns or the hyperbole of campaign oratory, what comment on politics could be more devastating than this short excerpt from an FDR speech on the eve of the 1936 election?

> "For twelve years this Nation was afflicted with hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing Government. The Nation looked to the Govern-

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Anne and Lowell Tillett *have spent the summer touring Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.* Honor Tracy *is the author of* The Straight and Narrow Path *and other novels.* Patrick O'Donovan *is Washington correspondent of* The Observer *(London).*


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ment but the Government looked away. Nine mocking years with the golden calf and three long years of the scourge! Nine crazy years at the ticker tape and three long years in the breadlines! Nine mad years of mirage and three long years of despair!"

If the Soviet student took seriously all the information and innuendo that his language textbooks contain, he would be hostile to American tourists and reject their opinions out of hand. But he has become an expert at sifting propaganda. A Leningrad student remarked to us wryly: "I have talked to dozens of Americans, but I have yet to meet a *real* capitalist."

With the progress currently being made in negotiations with the Russians, we might hope that sometime in the future we could place a ban on the poisoning of the academic atmosphere. If the propagandists would agree to leave the grammarians alone, they would naturally gravitate to their old methods, and we might see the reappearance of grammar exercises like this one from an old French grammar which so beautifully demonstrated the agreement of the past participle with the preceding direct object:

Voilà la pomme que j'ai déjà mangée. (There is the apple which I have already eaten.)


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# *Amid the Alien Corn*

*by Honor Tracy*

*The Adaptable Man*
by Janet Frame
(Braziller; $4.95)

The only obligation, said Henry James, to which in advance we may hold a novel is that it be interesting; and if this is true *The Adaptable Man* is very good indeed. The reader must plough through, or skip, an old-fashioned Prologue and three little chapters of portentous rhetoric, aggravated by lyrical prose; but thereafter the book becomes extraordinarily interesting, indeed bewitching, and remains so to the very last page.

The theme is Past and Present and the struggle between them in the human mind, a ceaseless interaction which may be likened perhaps to that of ocean and land. The setting is the village of Burgelstathan (a *burgel* was an old pagan burial ground) in Suffolk, a village unspoiled or benighted as we choose to see it, on the eve of engulfment by the "overspill" from London. The main characters are Russell Maude, a dentist, and his clerical brother Aisley, both men who refuse to accept the age merely because they live in it; Greta, Russell's wife, who, hoping to marry a leading dentist, reside in a fashionable suburb and be "seen everywhere," finds herself stuck with a rural nonentity and, in protest, devotes herself to cabbage, bean and leek and the war on insect life; and their son Alwyn, prototype of the contemporary man, evangelist of sex, speed and violence.

These people, however, are not alive. Each is in part an idea, in part a mouthpiece for the author: Their peculiarities do not well up from their innermost being but hang limply on them like an identification tag. For this reason, absorbing as the book is, it does not in retrospect altogether satisfy. Henry James said further, "What is character but the determination of incident? What is incident but the illustration of character?"; but the episodes here illustrate only the author's thesis. Alwyn murders an Italian farmhand and throws his body in a pool: This is to point up an image of the ancient closed community rejecting an outsider, and to reflect the casual acceptance of bloodshed by 20th-Century man. But we cannot believe Alwyn ever did this deed, any more than we believe in the incest with his mother, because we cannot believe in Alwyn at all.

Miss Frame, moreover, shows the disregard of reality, of hard fact, often met in writers of her philosophical and contemplative mind. She will have us believe that, when the body is fished out of the water, no one even suspects foul play. Later on, without telling us how or why, she lets the Reverend Aisley Maude into the secret and wants us to believe he did nothing whatever about it. Then, to make an artistic point of her own, Alwyn has to find a century-old printed bill advertising the sale of a Negro woman at a local marketplace, as wild a piece of nonsense as Miss Iris Murdoch's camellia forest luxuriating in the balmy breezes of Northumberland.

We may wonder really why Miss Frame, a New Zealander, should have chosen to place her novel in Suffolk. She clearly knows the country, the externals are keenly observed and beautifully described, but to write of an alien people in any depth is well-nigh impossible. Even in detail things are slightly but wonderfully wrong, with class patterns awry, landed ladies talking American and village children using middle-class slang; and our bourgeois little British stream, the River Orwell, bobs up as "the Orwell river," invested, to the native ear, with all the



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exotic appeal of the Orinoco or Demerara.

But let us turn to Miss Frame's many, and remarkable, qualities. At sea with human character, she is very much at home with a human situation. We shall never know Aisley Maude, with his obsessive archaism, his Anglo-Saxon lore and his mania for St. Cuthbert, as we know stronger fictional clergymen; but his predicament both as a fastidious man in the era of pop religion and as a priest losing sight of God, we both recognize and intensely feel. Here Miss Frame is profound, original and at times delightfully funny: Her eye for the vulgarities and inanities of our time is diabolically sharp. "But Aisley, no one these days suffers from t.b. You're out of touch," Greta tells him; and Aisley rephrases this as *Vicar Suffers from Strange New Disease.*

Freshness is the keynote – freshness of thought, approach, style. And of ear and eye; there are the "cake-mixing cries of the pheasants" and the "sharp, swatting, destructive movement" of the wood pigeon flapping its wings. Views are suggested of familiar everyday things that may startle until they are thought over: of sickness, for example, from whose "nourishing roots" Aisley's recovery has severed him, like the blow of an axe, so that he will never blossom again. Miss Frame has things to say of marriage, too, which are little short of bloodcurdling.

And there are splendid evocations of the Suffolk country, cattle trampling snow, huge skies, dour fields, early spring flowers, windmills, ripening wheat and barley – arty invaders seeking the Simple Life can never tell one from t'other – and deep, muddy lanes with ragged, flowery hedges; evocating all the more poignant since, in the novel and in fact, the Planners have got there already to spy out the land and murder it, bury it deep in brick and concrete, prior to losing the Overspill. The horror is summed up in the competition the Planners hold, for the renaming of ancient, sleepy, old Tydd when it is promoted to being the New Town. The entries do not satisfy them and they award no prize: Tydd will be, simply, New Tydd; but the runners-up in the contest receive, as macabre consolation, a year's supply of frozen beans, green peas and fishcakes.

If to the impressive range of her gifts Miss Frame now can add the accuracy of touch, the authority, that makes a reader say at the end of a novel. Yes, that was it, so it happened and could not have happened in any other way, she will assuredly rank as a novelist among the very best. Without them, her book remains a fine achievement, one to ponder at leisure, one not soon to be forgotten.

# *The Right Way to Wear the Green*

*by Patrick O'Donovan*

Ireland is a very odd country. It is small and God was niggardly to this, His most faithful province, when He came to dish out the coal and the iron ore and the oil. It is a place that evokes passionate, if rather theoretical, loyalty in millions of exiles. In history it has suffered in the Polish manner. And at home it mixes its patriotism, which is florid, with a bracing and rare dash of self-contempt.

*Writers and Politics*
by Conor Cruise O'Brien
(Pantheon; $4.95)

Despite all the piled up legends, it is an unromantic country, though, it is true, its rebels did harbor romantic illusions over their gun sights. But it has achieved its own persona, which is different from the one the rebels dreamt of and different from the one with which the exiles comfort and increase themselves.

It is now a tough little, clean little, up and coming bourgeois Republic. It has passed the "take-off" point, both economically and politically. It is a genuine foreign country. It is good to live in and even better to visit. It has a strong ethos which is unsympathetic to a native intellectual who wants his protest or rebellion applauded or at least listened to.

But, upon the world, it is also in an extraordinary position. History has given this small and decent Republic a peculiar freedom and authority. It commands the passionate loyalty of its exiles. The English Speaking Union – that Anglo-Saxon Underground in the US – has no such authority as the Irish clubs, and the English-descended mass in America is a mess of grits compared to the still hard cake of the Irish.

It has a colonial past of the utmost nastiness which is a passport to respect in most of the corridors of international power today. It has a myth – and it does not signify whether national myths are true or false as long as they are potent – to compensate for the centuries of humiliation and subjection. Other "new" countries, like Ceylon, which lack such a myth suffer as a man suffers from a vitamin deficiency.

It is well run, by men who are now business managers rather than barricade fighters. (Yet, a surprising number of the old men still have this experience in their background.) It is Catho-

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# ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES

## International Conference

A Statement of Assumptions

Deep concern about the war in Vietnam continues, now that the United States Administration is increasing its military involvement there and commiting massive numbers of combat troops. American intellectuals, both within and outside of the universities, have become increasingly articulate during the past few months in expressing their concern about the Vietnam situation and calling for a thorough re-analysis and re-evaluation of American policy in that part of the world. The most dramatic expression of this concern has been the teach-in movement, which has captured the imagination of intellectuals not only in the United States but also in many other countries.

The teach-ins and discussions so far have been extremely effective in raising fundamental issues and in analyzing the weaknesses and dangers of current policy; they have been less effective, however, in identifying alternatives to current policy. It is to the search for alternatives that we must devote our primary attention. This in turn requires us to develop new perspectives on the problem, out of which alternative solutions are more likely to emerge.

Much of the debate on Vietnam so far—even when it has taken place—has been carried out within an excessively narrow framework. The analytic perspective that is typically brought to bear on the issue is rooted in the assumptions of the Cold War; the evaluative perspective is provided by considerations of national interest and national power. These perspectives govern the approach not only of the United States, but also of the Soviet Union and of China; and not only toward Vietnam, but also toward the Dominican Republic and other foreign policy issues. Our concern for the moment, however, is primarily with United States policy toward Vietnam.

Regardless of the degree to which one accepts or rejects the assumptions of the Cold War and of the doctrine of national interest, it seems clear that these perspectives have led us into a dead end on the issue of Vietnam. The problems of Vietnam have proven incapable of any acceptable resolution within the terms of the Cold War and of power politics. Yet our policy makers seem to be trapped by these pervasive assumptions, and helplessly pulled by them into actions that are both futile and dangerous. What is deseperately needed is a way out of this trap, a way that would cut through the assumptions of the Cold War and permit us to define the problem in terms less refractory to solution. In other words, we need to bring radically new analytic and evaluative perspectives to bear on the issue in the hope that these will point to policy alternatives that could not emerge out of the closed system of the Cold War philosophy.

The search for alternatives must begin with the raising of certain basic value questions: Toward what ends ought our Vietnam policy to strive, and what are the means appropriate to the achievement of these ends? By approaching these questions from the moral perspectives of all great religions and philosophical systems, we may find solutions that are more consistent with fundamental human values than current American policy in Vietnam has turned out to be.

These value questions, however, must not be asked in the abstract, but in conjunction with new analytic perspectives on the conflict in Vietnam. Such perspectives can be derived from a combination of two major sources: from various social-theoretical formulations, yielding general propositions that can be applied to the special case of Vietnam; and from concrete knowledge of the social, economic, and political conditions within Vietnam and within the larger region of which it forms a part.

The development of new perspectives and the consequent broadening of the range of policy alternatives represent a major challenge to the intellectual community of the world. This challenge must be met by the combined efforts of humanists and religious thinkers, of social theorists and social philosophers, of students of Southeast Asia and of the developing world. American intellectuals must take the primary responsibility for meeting this challenge, for it is the policy of our government that is creating a moral crisis. In this effort, however, we must have the participation of intellectuals from all over the world, not only because the intellectual community, by its very nature, transcends national boundaries, but also because—coming from outside of American society—they are in a unique position to approach American policy from fundamentally different perspectives.

**PURPOSE—To carry forward the critical examination of current U.S. policy begun by the teach-in movement by moving from the analysis of the weaknesses and dangers of current policy to the search for viable alternatives through the development of new perspectives not based on the narrow and outdated assumptions of the Cold War which have led us into a dead end on the issue of Vietnam.**

**PROGRAM** — An international cooperative venture that seeks to unite three integrally related functions: **analysis, communication and action.**

**1. International Study Groups** (September 14-16) composed of about 40 humanists, religious thinkers, social theorists and area and development specialists who will meet in small groups each set up to examine the problem of Vietnam from a particular new perspective—other than that provided by power politics and within the Cold War framework—and to derive concrete alternatives to current American policy.

**2. Open Sessions** (September 17) with members of the university community throughout the nation and representatives of other communities—writers, artists, professionals, and religious, labor, civil rights and community groups interested in the problem of Vietnam and world peace—to hear reports from the study groups and addresses by study group members from different parts of the world; to be followed by teach-in type seminars concerned with alternative perspectives on Vietnam and concrete alternative policies.

**3. Action Workshops** (September 18) composed of individuals and representatives of groups from various parts of the U.S. and from other parts of the world who will report on various activities and plans; participants, in accord with their specific interests, will divide themselves into workshops to map out specific action projects of a local, regional, national or international nature.

The three conference segments are designed to feed into each other. The study groups to generate new ideas on which the subsequent activities will draw; to contribute to the development of international networks of intellectuals; to make possible the drafting of a joint statement of principles; to produce ideas that can be fed into the seminar discussions and into the action workshops; the seminars and action workshops to lead to a basis for cooperation between all persons and groups interested in ending the war.

A full statement of the objectives of the conference and a detailed outline of the program are available in a 20-page call to the conference entitled: "Alternative Perspectives on Vietnam."

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# ON VIETNAM

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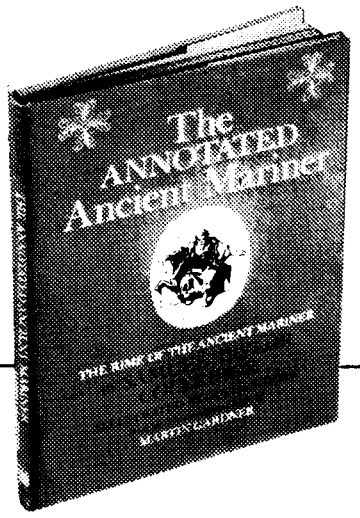


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lic, of course, but has few real political commitments internationally. Indeed, some years ago, the Irish delegation to the United Nations infuriated the United States and British delegations by their interest in the Polish plans for nuclear limitations.

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Mr. O'Brien is a rebel, but he is also a rebel against Ireland. He has had many distinguished predecessors – Shaw, Joyce and O'Casey, for example. But he is a little different from those. He has not rejected the platform which is now far stronger than these three knew. He is consciously, continually, unmistakably Irish. He is the most contemporary sort of Irishman and yet goes back to something older.

Mr. O'Brien has a definition in this book of what it means to be Irish. He says, "Irishness is not primarily a question of birth or blood or language: it is the condition of being involved in the Irish situation, and usually of being mauled by it. On that definition Swift is more Irish than Goldsmith or Sheridan, although by the usual tests they are Irish and he is pure English."

Worn like this, and I believe it the right way to wear the green, it is not a comforting thing. Mr. O'Brien has an Irish education. He married into the Irish power elite. He has not cut himself off physically or intellectually from Ireland, though he seems less than enthusiastic about her religious faith. He represents the crest of a new wave of Irish confidence, that is not Anglo-Irish or romantic. He comes as a shock to all those who have cherished or despised the cliché image of the Irish. There is no bog oak or poteen about him.

He was a senior member of the Irish Department of External Affairs and to journalists was a major figure in the United Nations. He left his country's service to join the United Nations itself and, for a time, was the admiration of the late Dag Hammarskjöld. He served in Katanga and after that tragedy, became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana.

He is the authentic Irishman, more apt to reject than accept. He is not jealous of New York or London and has no longing to prove his brilliance in either of these capitals. Paris – if anywhere – is his Acropolis. But really he is simply Irish, in the tradition of Wolfe Tone, international, uncommitted to anything very much except freedom.

Like most serious Irishmen, he is sick with anger over Ireland's wrongs and is a little maimed by them. He is also almost incoherent over Ireland's mistakes. He regards England as a sort of bad joke and all the premises of that once confident country are examined and usually rejected. England is never given the benefit of the doubt. Indeed he accords it a malevolent power the English know, in their hearts, that it can no longer command.

The United States makes him heave at almost every confrontation. He once described the late Adlai Stevenson as "the ingratiating moral mask which a toughly acquisitive society wears before the world it robs."

He approaches new and usually suspect nations with the sympathy that was born of his people's past – but this time, not romanticized, but brought frighteningly up to date. In a great speech to the University of Ghana – and Ghana is not a fashionable land even among liberals – he said: "I believe in independent Ghana, and in the Ghanian idea of independence, and if I did not believe in them I should not be here."

Mr. O'Brien is a radical. He has dismissed the myths that cling about the Irish and found something hard and difficult in their place: He combines an immense, sardonic tolerance with anger. Which makes for impatience and a selective intolerance. His is a lonely post which few have occupied before. It bears some resemblance to the Fabian socialists in England who, when they got power, whether it was as Colonial Governors or as matriarchal intellectuals, showed the same sort of intolerance and lack of love.

There is here a desperate honesty. But there is also, as in all literature that slops over into journalism, a degree of inaccuracy. His remark about President Tshombe of the Congo simply does not



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make sense. He said, "Tshombe has no African support, even in Katanga, and in the rest of the Congo his name is only known as that of a rebel and a traitor." Mr. O'Brien has not been in the rest of the Congo and the statement is simply untrue.

But these extravagances are legitimate. This is a new man speaking from a new and pure podium. He is no automatic leftist. He is a man who discovered that he was a liberal and not merely a mechanistic socialist because, like Thomas Didymus, he put his fingers into the wounds of Africa.

This is a book which is a collection of things he has written for magazines and newspapers. Of course it is the usual ragbag of a man whose publisher has persuaded him to make a little extra money out of all the work he has done. But, by accident, it is much more than this. It is a new view of the West, from one steeped in the West, who yet, from his viewpoint has something new and authentic to say.

## FILMS

# *From France with Talent*

*Life Upside Down*, a first film written and directed by a young Frenchman named Alain Jessua, is a work executed without flaw. From first moment to last, it is made with the delicate rigor of a good sonnet. It travels directly but with no sense of rush; it selects its metaphor and symbol without fumble or flashiness. It *understands* what it is about. It is spellbinding, and, insidiously, it almost makes us chuckle with the near-appeal of its central terror.

*Life Upside Down*
(Landau)
*The Married Woman*
(Royal Films International)

This is a poem of schizophrenia. It depicts how a young Frenchman passes from seeming normality to complete withdrawal. It does this with clinical fidelity (as far as I know) but with more than clinical intent. Its purpose is entirely subjective: to show how a man of some seriousness and intelligence feels as he moves into that mental state – as contrasted with how he looks to the world. There is no violence, nothing even remotely disgusting, yet it is a film of deep horror because it shows – finely and with seductive unreason – how the man's mind converts his growing affliction into euphoria and philosophic triumph.

The story is enacted while he recounts it on a tape-recorder. He lives with a pretty, affectionate model – so domestically that it is a surprise when he proposes marriage; we have assumed that they are married. His real-estate job is dull. Truth – of his life, of the teeming life around him – seems always just out of reach. Although he is very fond of his girl, he is no longer passionate about her. All, in other words, seems normal enough.

Then they go to a movie theatre (to see her brief appearance in one of the commercials shown in European movie houses) and afterward they join some friends in a café. In the midst of conversation he suddenly excuses himself. We think he is going to telephone or relieve himself. Instead he just walks across the room and starts to play a pinball machine. And, as he tells us on the sound-track, this sudden withdrawal is his first experience of a feeling of well-being, a feeling that recurs for him and which, of course, we see as "attacks." He runs to his illness (which he never thinks of in that term) like a religious zealot to his faith. That is the pathos and the fascination.

His odd behavior at his wedding costs him his job, and his wife thinks he is busily looking for a new one when he is just wandering around Paris, experimenting with ways to render people and objects invisible: simply by staring at them. The camera renders this excellently, showing how the intensity of staring at an immensely magnified object makes it disappear from the "attention" of our vision. Then he disappears for three days, without knowing it; he comes home as if he had been out for a walk. Since he seems well, his wife concludes that he has found another girl. She attempts suicide and finally leaves him because she thinks he is no longer interested in her.

This is true, obviously, but not in the way she thinks. Left alone, he pushes the furniture out of the bedroom and sits on the floor cross-legged, staring at the wall, conquering the "objectness" of objects. When he tells a doctor of his discoveries, the doctor asks him to visit a friend who is collecting such stories – a mental hospital, of course. At the end, the young man sits cross-legged on the floor of the white, white sanitarium room – still and happy – interrupted only by the meals brought to him, he thinks, by his wife cleverly disguised as a nurse.

Charles Denner, who was excellent in the title-role of *Landru* (possibly the most unjustly neglected film of the decade), plays the young man with an overwhelming conviction of quiet, mys-

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terious, rapt, saint-like joy – as he sinks further and further away. Anna Gaylor, the girl, provides the right note of warm-hearted bewilderment. The photography by Jacques Robin, which converts the pedicuring of one huge toenail into a massive statement of gross materiality, also renders the growing whiteness in the film into antiseptic unreality.

When I first saw *Life Upside Down* a year ago (at Venice) I thought it only a splendid case history, and thus a bit gratuitous. A second viewing, after a year, greatly enriches the pathological verity and transforms it into a slow lyric of departure, which throws oblique sardonic glints on the question of reality. When he is describing his triumph, the young man refers to what I suppose is Pascal's famous line: "All the unhappiness of men arises from one single fact, that they cannot stay quietly in their own chamber." The film revolves this statement in three lights: that of the philosopher's purity, the guru's spiritual exaltation, the immurement of the mentally sick. There is no question as to which of these lights finally holds the young man, but the teasing attendance of the others is the film's particular beauty. Alain Jessua's first work is a gem.

*The Married Woman* is Jean-Luc Godard's best picture to be seen here since *Breathless*. This means, to begin with, that he had a more interesting face to photograph (Macha Meril's) than that of Anna Karina, which has dominated – if not oppressed – too many of his films. This is not a small matter in a Godard picture because the fixing and exploration of the photographed face (not acting, as such) is a matter of mystique to him. But more important, he has used his armory of experiment, trick, imaginative innovation for a perceptible and communicated purpose.

We spend twenty-four hours with a young Parisienne. We begin with her and her lover in bed. Then she meets her husband, who has come back from a business trip, and eventually they go to bed. The next afternoon there is another rendezvous with her lover at an airport hotel. These three amorous episodes are the film's being, the rest is subsidiary. There are interludes of varying interest: a dinner-party conversation; a visit to a doctor in which she learns that she is pregnant (she is not sure of the paternity); overheard conversation in a café (the hallmark of recent French films). There is a lot of the familiar Godard apparatus: the chapter titles on the screen (pointless and affected as ever); the improvised dialogue (passages in which the principal characters, the doctor, a child, seem to be responding to an unheard interviewer). Accidents are retained (the moment when Miss Meril slips and falls in the street). There are visual puns. We see a traffic sign reading *Danger;* the camera closes in until it reads *ange.* At the airport the girl passes a sign reading *Passage;* the camera separates it into *Pas sage.*

But with his customary photographer, Raoul Coutard, Godard has made the bedroom scenes genuinely sexual and humanly genuine. He calls the picture "fragments of a film made in 1964"; and the fragmentary feeling is consistent in the sex episodes. At the end of each quite brief passage, there is a quick fade-out, then a quick fade-in, as if we were going to a different place or time; but it is the same scene, continuing. This cinema punctuation is deliberately used – or misused – to break these relatively continuous episodes into arcs and shards, to place on us the burden of assembling them in our minds into a kind of collage. The mind responds because the pieces are intriguing; the fragmented effect keeps the scene from degenerating into conventional Gallic bedroom *tristesse,* jars our sensibilities into an apprehension of some depth. There is stream-of-consciousness verbalizing in these scenes; she continually whispers disconnected and irrelevant phrases. This contributes little because the *idea* of the device is all, the *contents* of the device are nil; and it soon becomes wearisome.

This is a general fault of the film. Almost every idea or fragment has initial impact but small content. The rhythm of the picture is sting and tedium, sting and tedium.

Yet the over-all effect is of a lonely loveliness. The exquisite compositions in the bedroom scenes – sometimes merely two hands reaching for one another on a sheet, sometimes a navel staring at us, sometimes a rounded leg



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– all are tokens of a quintessential but indescribable reality, set inescapably in an entangling context of verbiage. The words are inevitable and inevitably inadequate; the facts remain. Around this embattled arena of sex moves the girl, lying (and how appropriate it seems) to both men. She tells the lover that she has warned the husband she will leave him; she tells the husband she has long since left the lover.

Throughout we get from her a sense of strange and somewhat estranged curiosity. She is trying to find out what relationships mean, whether the word love – which she keeps using, almost as an incantation – is any definition of what she feels or whether it is a mere sop to a heritage of sin-consciousness or perhaps a mere aggrandizement of physical attraction. The whole atmosphere of the film is sexual – backgrounds of bra ads as she walks along the street or flicks magazines, the lubricious talk of a housemaid. And through this sea of sexuality this girl swims and floats, secure because she is attractive but insecure because she does not understand the extent or meaning of her powers and appetites.

Godard, who had come increasingly to shine his talents on his own circus acts, here reserves them most of the time for his subject; and it is a measure of his success that he makes us ignore moral judgment. The theme is natural history. The girl's behavior seems neither wicked nor French-farce sly; she has, in essence, our sympathy.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

## TELEVISION

# *TV's Riot Squad*

Scott Stanley, managing editor of *American Opinion*, was in Los Angeles last week, and at an evening sponsored by the John Birch Society at Redondo Union High School in Redondo Beach, he said that he had always planned to make his first million dollars here in California by cornering the spear concession in Watts. By some measure of forbearance, the local radio and television outlets did not race onto the air with this *mot*. It was the first instance of electronic restraint on the question of the Los Angeles riots.

No one wants to impugn the courage, ingenuity, and virtuosity of the broadcast journalists in Watts. But the very nature of television, with its pressing need to fill the gaping maw of dead air, mitigates against reasoned analysis of a running civil disturbance. Consciously or not, electronic journalism is essentially show business, and show business demands a gimmick. With its insatiable appetite for live drama, television turned the riots into some kind of Roman spectacle, with the police playing the lions, the Negroes the Christians. The angle, in this case, was that the Christians were winning.

Not only did television exacerbate an already inflammatory situation, but also, by turning the riots into a Happening, may even have helped prolong them. One channel went so far as to score its riot footage with movie "chase" music. The situation was made to order for the late-night call-in shows, which cater to what one critic calls "a twilight world of the lonely, the subliterate, the culturally deprived." The riots gave these disembodied voices in the night a chance to vent their private furies against "these people," a euphemism for "Negroes" on station after station. "What do these people want. . . . Why don't they get jobs like decent people. . . . These people remind me of animals." Nor did the intellects who MC these shows help much with their fatuous ripostes. I was particularly taken with someone on KNX named Michael Jackson, who alternately insulted his callers in an elegant BBC accent and tried to make them swallow a "We Are All Guilty" New York *Post* sermonette. All by himself, Jackson might have precipitated a run on the gun shops in marginal white areas.

These were the egregious cases, but other stations were equally if less flagrantly guilty. No rumor, however un-

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substantiated, went unreported. Hovering over the riot scene in a helicopter, a reporter for KTLA suddenly announced, "There's a report that one or two policemen are surrounded, so we're going up that way for a look." The report was unfounded, but by the time that was established, there were other unconfirmed stories on the air. The Shrine Auditorium was on fire, the Minute Men were invading Watts, a contingent of Hell's Angels was even now careening down the Harbor Freeway toward the riot area; all were false alarms. Even when there was nothing new to report, the pitch was maintained – looting at Vermont and 83rd, a shooting at Central and 39th, a car gunned down running a roadblock at Broadway and 47th – until quite isolated events blurred into holocaust and a riot became a massacre.

"Why did they let TV get away with so much?" a Negro asked a reporter for *The Los Angeles Times*. "It made a lot of people mad. It seemed like they were running the same films over and over, showing the same shots of police kicking or hitting someone and a lady with her arm twisted behind her back. They called everybody rioting a hoodlum. Like everything bad that was happening was happening to the police. Watts is really trying to come up. And all TV could talk about was 'Hell in the City of Angels'."

In fact broadcast coverage of the riots only deepened my own conviction that a thousand words are worth one picture. The most disturbing effect of televised news coverage is that, like LSD, it tends to create a heightened and often spurious reality of its own. No newspaper, no magazine has television's awesome ability to maintain the momentum of an event. Watts is a vast sprawling ghetto, fifty miles square. Normally the dweller in such a peculiarly horizontal slum, in such an immense area, would hear of an incident with the police only the next day, if at all, when he read it in the newspaper. With 24-hour on-the-spot news coverage, however, reality for the viewer in the eye of the storm became not the quiet outside his own bungalow, but the place, often miles away, where the action was.

And the screen affected as well the viewer who was not in the storm at all, the man who could sit in his family room 30 miles away and watch a continuous and indiscriminate feast of violence, death, and destruction. Since only high points are reported, an incident soon becomes a skirmish, a skirmish a full-scale war. Moreover, a microphone tends to create news, often where there is none. I wonder for how many viewers the most vivid memory of the 1964 Republican Convention was the sight of John Chancellor being carried off the floor by a sergeant-at-arms, signing off with "This is John Chancellor, somewhere in custody." Is it worth even a footnote in history?

By virtue of the microphone in his hand, an electronic journalist is automatically a participant in any story he covers, particularly in one as volatile and fluctuating as a riot. There is no rewrite man to temper his immediate emotions, no time to reflect before a typewriter upon what he has seen. He is forced to shoot from the lip, as are those he interviews. When a microphone is thrust before an official's face, there is nothing off the record, no chance for a later strategic retreat. He is frozen in the position of defending himself at all costs, giving blanket absolution to his adherents, accepting no blame at all.

Because it is so dependent upon action, television runs the risk of being manipulated far more than the other news media. Who can blame a picket for alerting the networks before going out on the line? I recall being told by a politician in New York that he always knew when City Hall was to be pick-

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eted when Gabe Pressman and an NBC camera crew pulled up. Of course, the screw can be turned again. When Marlon Brando and a coterie from Hollywood were picketing against the scheduled execution of Caryl Chessman, it is said that Richard Tuck, California's ubiquitous political troubleshooter, was told to get up to San Quentin and get rid of the picketers. This Tuck supposedly did by renting camera equipment, posing as a network journalist, and interviewing everyone in sight outside the prison. He had no film in his camera, but when he drove off, the marchers dispersed.

The cul-de-sac of the problem is that there is no answer. It is too glib to say that networks should caution their men to be "cool" and "objective." In a riot situation, objectivity is perhaps beyond the realm of human possibilities. It is equally facile to suggest, as Theodore H. White did in *The Making of the President 1964*, that television should show "the nation the spectacle of a Negro community of decency." This sounds curiously like the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce complaining that no one ever photographs the city's schools and churches. Nor does anyone want to suggest that television confine itself to sporting events and state funerals. But we should be aware that the picture image we see on television is by its very nature foreground. Not background. JOHN GREGORY DUNNE

# *Correspondence*

## Big Gun on Poverty

*Sirs:*

In your issue of August 7 Mr. Edwin Dale, Jr., has an article entitled "The Big Gun on Poverty" which is a plea for fiscal and monetary policies which will reduce unemployment. Mr. Dale believes that these policies, rather than the specific programs of education and training, which are part of the "War on Poverty," are to be depended on to solve the present "unemployment problem."

In this article Mr. Dale succumbs to the temptation to indulge in over-statement and makes a defense of the "trickle down" theory of prosperity


# Woodrow Wilson

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that I never expected to find in *The New Republic.* I would not be so surprised to find such a defense in *The Wall Street Journal.* He writes: ". . . The fact remains that one way or another a Negro slum dweller in Chicago benefits from a reduction in the excise tax on diamond rings or from a two-point cut in the corporation income tax."

I believe this is about as far as the "trickle down" theory of prosperity can be pushed. . . . Dale is justifying a rather alarming trend – namely the loss of the element of progressiveness in the US tax system. . . .

I think economists who over-stress the importance of government measures to "increase purchasing power" without due emphasis on *how* this is done (Mr. Dale is a good example of this school of thought) are doing a very real disservice and are spreading a dangerous doctrine. Certainly they cannot convince me that the depression of the 1930's could have been prevented by "across-the-board" reductions in 1929 in personal and corporate income taxes. and reductions in luxury excise taxes.

*Robert M. Paige*
*Washington, D.C.*

## The Negro Family

*Sirs:*

Although I am a long-time admirer of TRB, I would like to dissent a bit with the idea concerning Negro family breakdown that he has advanced in recent issues of *The New Republic.* . . .

Based on my experience as an educational administrator and professor in the United States, France and Africa, I feel that the story of Negro morality is out of focus as expressed not only by TRB but by Theodore White, President Johnson and the Goldwaterites. The Negro family has tended to be pluralist for centuries. The African family was invented long before Calvin and the colonial Puritans began to fulminate against polygamy and marriage *en seriatim.*

One cannot blame only the squalor of the American city for the present situation of the Negro family. The causes lie in both American history and African: slave-trading by Europeans and Arabs, and the use of slaves as concubines. In Africa there was the capture and sale of blacks by blacks, together with the peasant morality, plural family structure, and the initiation of females to sex at puberty in many tribes.

The modern American city aggravates the problem of Negro migrants from South to North. But the problem goes beyond the structure of the family. The real problem is the exposing of a partly monogamous and loose-jointed peasant family to the worst aspects of urban life: crime, violence, materialism, depersonalism.

My experience . . . in a multi-national, multi-racial student center in Paris, together with my other experience, confirms the observations of many. There is an increasing movement toward the "new" morality by whites, Negroes, orientals – that jumps over racial and economic class lines. Thus, the scandal touted by the Goldwaterites concerning unwed American Negro mothers is out of balance and out of focus. . . .

*T. Noel Stern*
*Wellesley Hills, Mass.*

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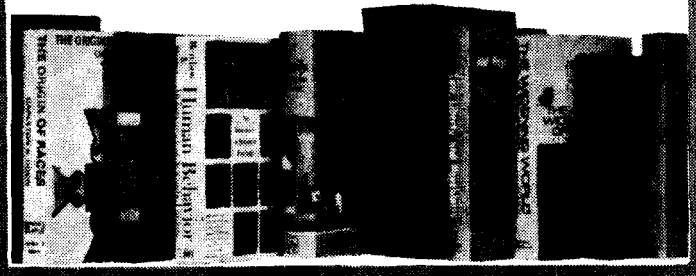


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